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**1980/01/02**

## MEMORANDUM

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**SECRET**

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

January 2, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

FROM:

MICHEL OKSENBERG *MO*  
DON GREGG *JDG*

SUBJECT:

NSC Meeting on China/Brown Trip (U)

Here are five measures which we recommend building into the Brown trip as ways of signaling to the Soviet Union that their behavior in Afghanistan will affect the nature of Sino-American relations:

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-- Brown's toast, drafted in the pre-Afghanistan situation, must be toughened, with certain key points made explicit. Namely, our relations with China are not directed against any third countries, but the nature of our relations with China inevitably will be affected by what other countries do. Beyond that, the toast should make explicit reference to Soviet behavior around the world, as well as to the holding of hostages in Iran, noting that these developments run counter to the interest of both developed countries and countries which aspire to a higher standard of living for their people. Sino-American cooperation is intended to create a more stable environment in the world. The NSC meeting could call for a toast which has the President's explicit approval. (S)

-- We should change our policy on arms sales to China, abandoning our previous statement that "We do not sell arms to China" to "We have no present plans to sell arms to China, although we recognize China's right to self-defense." (S)

-- Privately, we should indicate to the Chinese that our policy on arms sales has changed and that we would be prepared to enter into discussions with them on sale of carefully selected, clearly defensive equipment, such as early warning radar systems, command and control systems, and anti-tank weapons. We should make clear that we are not prepared to sell offensive weapons, such as advanced jet fighters. (S)

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-- We should make public that we will establish a China differential in COCOM along the lines of the Belgium proposal. Vance has sent the President a memorandum indicating that we should not do this prior to Congressional action on the China Trade Agreement, but it seems to me the Afghanistan situation places this in a new light. The NSC should recommend immediately consultations with key members of Congress handling the Trade Agreement. (S)

-- On the Brown trip, we should let it be known that

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[REDACTED] We should make this public only if the Chinese agree to it, and we should indicate to the Chinese that the reason we wish to go public is to signal to other parties that we do believe our interests largely coincide in these two areas. (S)

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